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Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow, 1973

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Led by their Communist Party, the Soviet people are building a communist society. The Party is guided in all its activity by Marxism-Leninism, imparting to the work of building communism a scientific, planned character.

Communism is a classless society with one form of public ownership—that of the whole people—and full social equality of all citizens, a society in which not only are the productive forces developed, but also the full potentialities of every individual, a society where all springs of social wealth flow abundantly and where the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is implemented; a community of free, socially conscious working men and women which is managed on the basis of public self-government, and in which work for the good of society has become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, with everyone's abilities being used for the greatest benefit of the people.

Being as it is the front-line detachment of the working class and leader of the Soviet people, the Communist Party influences social development not only through its own organizations but also through the mass organizations of working people, on which it relies for the building of communism, giving the work of these organizations a planned and scientifically based character.

The leading part the Communist Party plays in the process of revolutionary transformation of society, the guidance it gives to the mass public organizations is a feature determined by the laws of communist construction.

Public Organizations in the System of Political Organization of Socialist Society

In considering the problems of Party guidance of the mass organizations of working people in the USSR it is necessary to examine the question of their importance in carrying out the revolutionary transformation of society, in socialist and communist construction, in the system of political organization of socialist society generally.

The building of socialism has its principal instrument in the proletarian dictatorship. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", V. I. Lenin pointed out, "means a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society." [1] The

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 44.

dictatorship of the proletariat means replacing democracy for the exploiters with socialist democracy for the working people. It is the beginning of genuine democracy—people's rule.

The system or mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat represents, as defined by Lenin, the totality of government and public organizations united by the common aim of building a new society and led by the Communist Party. He called public organizations a "transmission line" from the Party to the masses of working people without which the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be exercised. Lenin particularly stressed the role of the Communist Party in the system of proletarian dictatorship, saying that "the dictatorship of the proletariat would not work except through the Communist Party." [1]

The system of government and public organizations in the Soviet Union comprises the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol), the co-operatives, scientific and technical societies, organizations of rationalizers and inventors, professional unions, cultural, educational, sports and other societies. This system enables the CPSU to conduct political, organizational and ideological work among the masses of working people aimed at accomplishing the tasks of communist construction.

The Soviet system of political organization of society differs fundamentally from bourgeois systems. The main distinction is that it accords with the interests of the working people, with the aims of building socialism and communism. The politi-

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 199.

cal organization of socialist society in the USSR is of the people and for the people. It is distinguished by the clarity and unambiguousness of relations between the Communist Party, on the one hand, and the state together with the mass organizations of working people, on the other. These relations are based on the recognition of the CPSU as the leading force of society, the political leader of the people and all its organizations.

As the CPSU Central Committee noted in its decision "On the 70th Anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP", printed in *Pravda* on April 12, 1973, "In its persistent many-sided work to perfect the Soviet political system the CPSU devotes much attention to promoting socialist democracy, to enhancing in every way the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies as organs of genuine people's rule, the trade union, Komsomol and other mass public organizations."

The importance of public organizations in the system of political organization of socialist society consists in the following.

Firstly, their principal function and purpose is to organize and draw working people into socialist and communist construction, to enlist the active participation of the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals in running the affairs of the state and society. The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says: "Working people take an active part, through the Soviets, trade unions, and other mass organizations, in managing the affairs of the state and in solving problems of economic and cultural advancement." [1] This is not a declaration of intent; it is part of Soviet reality.

[1] *The Road to Communism.* Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, M., 1961, p. 460.

Secondly, public organizations link the Party with all working people and rally them round it. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the organization of the most advanced, politically conscious workers, peasants and intellectuals. Having profound belief in the creative forces of the working people and maintaining close ties with them, it enjoys the support of the entire people in exercising general political leadership. Constant contact with the masses is a rule of its life and activity. Without this the Communist Party cannot fulfil its role of a revolutionary vanguard. Hence the great importance of public organizations in the USSR.

Thirdly, without mass organizations of working people there cannot be full socialist democracy. The high political activity of Soviet people is determined by the nature of socialism, by its entire system of social relations. Constantly concerned with extending and deepening socialist democracy, the CPSU is working to secure maximum participation of citizens in managing the economy and administering all the other affairs of the country, and public organizations are unique as mediums through which millions of people can be drawn into social activity, into the business of government.

Further possibilities for enhancing the role of mass organizations in implementing genuine people's rule in the USSR have been created by the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Party's Central Committee stated in its report to the congress: "We see the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the increasingly broader participation of the masses in the administration of state and social affairs. In our country the en-

tire political system of society and the steadily growing initiative of the people serve the building of communism. This sort of democracy is vital to us and it is an indispensable condition for the development and consolidation of socialist social relations." [1]

As noted earlier, all public organizations in the USSR have something basic in common that characterizes the content and direction of their activity. However, each of them has its own, definite field of work, its own tasks, duties and powers. They also differ in forms of organization and work. It will be therefore useful to describe, in brief, the main mass organizations of Soviet working people.

SOVIETS OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

One of the biggest mass organizations in the USSR, the Soviets, constitute the political basis of the Soviet state and represent direct organs of power in the country. All power in the USSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The Soviets are an all-embracing organization of the people combining the functions of both government and public organizations.

The Soviets came into being as a result of the revolutionary struggle of the people against the power of landowners and capitalists. The first Soviets were established by the working people themselves as the product of their creativity and energy back in the course of the bourgeois-democratic revolu-

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[1] *24th Congress of the CPSU*, M., 1971, p. 99.

tion in 1905-1907. At first there appeared Soviets of Workers' Deputies, followed by Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies and Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. In point of fact, already then the Soviets constituted the embryo of a new power, although initially they were set up as representative organs of the workers of different enterprises to give leadership in their economic and political strikes. Already at that time the Soviets, created and supported by the masses of working people and guided by the Party of Bolsheviks,[1] acted in defiance of the tsar's government, issuing their own ordinances, introducing an eight-hour working day, proclaiming democratic freedoms and undertaking other actions on behalf of the workers.

Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and of the Soviet state, regarded the Soviets as a great historical achievement of the working people of Russia. He predicted a great future for them, seeing in them the prototype of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the form of state organization of the working class with the help of which it would be possible to defend the gains of the future socialist revolution, suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and then marshal the working people in an effort to build first socialism and then communism.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party

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[1] At the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1903, Lenin's line received the majority (*bolshinstvo* in Russian) of votes in the election of the central organs of the Party, and Lenin's followers began to be known as *bolsheviki*, or Bolsheviks, as opposed to *mensheviki*, or Mensheviks (those of the minority). The 7th Congress of the RSDLP(B) changed the Party's name to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

the Soviets made a vast contribution to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. They played an outstanding part in consolidating the victory of the revolution and effecting socialist transformations. Today they are successfully carrying out the tasks of communist construction.

In the course of socialist revolutions in other countries there were formed similar organs of government of the people called national committees, people's councils, etc. Their functions are virtually identical to those of the Soviets in the USSR.

The Soviets are open and accessible to the masses; being a direct creation of the people, they are their direct organs of power, operating under their constant control. Fully representing the people, they exercise sovereign power centrally and in the localities, combine legislative with executive activity, and enable the people to take an active part in governing the state. Thus, the Soviets are the fullest expression of the democratic nature of the socialist state, of socialist democracy. They provide a possibility of exercising democratic rights and freedoms which has never existed in the most democratic of bourgeois republics. In the USSR the working people are constantly drawn into participation in the work of democratically administering the state. Suffice it to say that in the postwar period alone more than twenty million people have received through the Soviets a schooling in governing the state.

Of late, bourgeois ideologists and opportunists have been particularly active in advocating "pure democracy", "democracy for all", dishing up as the model so-called Western democracy, which in

reality is democracy for the rich only and does not serve the interests of the people.

The CPSU holds that there can be no "pure democracy", no freedom in general, that democracy is a class concept, the criterion of which is supplied by the answers to the questions: Freedom for whom? Democracy for which class? Whereas bourgeois ideologists measure the degree of development of democracy by the number of opposition parties, democracy as understood by Marxist-Leninists means power in the hands of the people, direct and decisive participation of the working people in implementing state policy. Such democracy can be ensured only by socialism, which presupposes public ownership of the means of production and rules out any possibility of exploitation. Socialism and democracy are inseparable. The thing is that only the masses of people can build socialism and communism, and democracy is the principal means of stimulating their creative work, their direct participation in carrying out the tasks before the state. That is why Lenin noted that "there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy." [1]

The democratic character of the Soviets has been constantly and comprehensively developing in the process of socialist transformation in the USSR. Today there exists in the country a ramified system of Soviets at all levels: the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 35 Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous republics, 122 Soviets of regions and territories, 10 Soviets of national areas, 5,311 Soviets of towns and districts, and 44,347 rural

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[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

Soviets. This system fully accords with the democratic character of the Soviet political system, embracing the entire territory of the country, and corresponds to the needs of social development. All told, about 50,000 Soviets function in the USSR, the number of deputies elected to them exceeding 2,000,000. Represented in them are all strata of working people engaged in the various spheres of material production, science, culture, etc. Rank-and-file workers directly engaged in production constitute a sizeable proportion of the deputies to the Soviets. For example, 31.7 per cent of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 8th convocation elected in 1970 are industrial workers and 18.6 per cent, collective farmers. Non-Party people account for 27.7 per cent of the deputies. More than half of the deputies to the fifteen Supreme Soviets of the Union republics are workers and collective farmers. As for the local organs of state power (the Soviets of regions, towns, districts and rural localities) elected in 1973, their composition is characterized by the following percentages: Communists, 43.9 per cent; Komsomol members, 17.2 per cent; workers and collective farmers, 67.3 per cent; persons under 30 years of age, 28.2 per cent; women, 47.4 per cent; and deputies elected for the first time, 47.4 per cent.

It is necessary to note not only the high political activity of Soviet citizens during elections (99.96 per cent of the electorate went to the polls in the 1973 elections to the local Soviets), but also the fact that many of them help to organize them: 2,241,123 electoral commissions were formed during the 1973 elections. More than 9,115,000 people took part in their work; of them, 60.9 per cent were workers and collective farmers; 46.3 per cent,

women; 22.8 per cent, persons under 30 years of age; 34.6 per cent, Communists; 65.6 per cent, non-Party people.

Deputies to the Soviets are statesmen and public figures of a new type. Along with performing their duties as deputies they continue to work in factories, plants, institutions, etc. The CPSU, guided by Lenin's injunction that the representatives of the people in the Soviets "themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents",[1] shows constant concern for further raising the level of activity of the deputies. Attention was called to this by the 24th Congress of the Party (1971), which found it desirable to determine legislatively the status, the powers and rights of the deputies, as well as the duties of officials with regard to them.

In September 1972, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the law "On the Status of Deputies to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the USSR" setting forth propositions concerning the role of a deputy as a plenipotentiary representative of the people in the Soviet, his term of office, contact with and accountability to the constituents, fulfilment of their mandate, relationships with the Soviet, and so on. The law also defines the range of a deputy's duties in the Soviet and in the constituency and the main guarantees of his work as a deputy.

The most important form of the activity of deputies is participation in sessions of the Soviet, at which they discuss and decide all main questions

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[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Wokrs,* Vol. 25, p. 424.

belonging to the given Soviet's field of authority. The deputies have a determinative vote on all questions under consideration at the Soviet's session. They have the right to elect and be elected to agencies of the Soviet, to make proposals concerning the agenda of the session and the matters under consideration, to submit inquiries and draft resolutions, etc.

The deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Union and Autonomous republics have the right to initiate legislation.

However, there is more to the deputies' activity than participation in sessions and discussion and adoption of laws and resolutions. They carry on day-to-day practical work of administering state and public affairs, doing it as members of standing committees, which thus ensure the continuity of the work of the Soviets. At present the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet have 26 standing committees dealing with the deputies' credentials, plan and budget, industry, transport and communication, agriculture, health protection and social security, public education, science and culture, trade, foreign affairs, affairs of the youth, and so on. Six out of every ten deputies are members of standing committees. After the elections in 1971 the local Soviets set up about 327,000 standing committees, in which more than 80 per cent of the deputies work.

The standing committees are auxiliary organs of the Soviets called upon to help them carry out their tasks. Specifically, these committees draft proposals for consideration by the Soviets, exercise control over the observance of laws and ordinances, etc. The work of the standing committees is so organized as to enable the deputies to have

thorough knowledge of the work of the executive agencies of the Soviets.

The local Soviets also widely practise the establishment of deputies' groups, which make it possible for the deputies to the regional, town, district and rural Soviets to co-ordinate much more effectively their efforts in deciding questions which concern a particular constituency. The range of activities of the deputies' groups is also fairly wide: submission of proposals to the local Soviets for their consideration, examination of citizens' complaints and applications, etc.

So much for the essence of the deputies' activities, for the forms of their participation in the work of the Soviets.

Socialist democracy presupposes, in addition to the Soviets as elected organs of state power, their accountability to the people, the constituents' control over their work. Much attention is paid in the USSR to organizing such checks on the deputies and on the executive agencies of the Soviets. For example, in 1968-1970 all the executive organs of the local Soviets presented their reports at sessions of the Soviets and at public meetings. In 1971 alone more than 250,000 constituents' meetings, attended by about 42 million people were held to hear reports by the local Soviets' executives. In the same year 2,057,000 deputies to the local Soviets (95.2 per cent of the total number) reported to their electorate.

The accountability of the executive agencies of the Soviets and of the deputies assumed a still more organized and systematic character after the 1971 elections to the local Soviets and the adoption of the law "On the Status of Deputies to the

Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the USSR".

It should also be stressed that the electors have been more active in exercising their right to recall deputies who have failed to justify their trust. In the first half of 1971, the powers of 197 deputies to local Soviets were thus terminated.

Not only deputies are taught the art of governing the country. The Soviets have many millions of non-paid voluntary helpers. More than 25 million such activists work in the various public departments of executive committees of the Soviets, commissions, councils and other institutions functioning within the framework of the Soviets. The forms of the participation of the population in the work of the Soviets are being constantly improved and enriched.

Today the Soviets personify genuine sovereignty of the people, the flourishing of socialist democracy.

TRADE UNIONS

An important place in the political organization of socialist society belongs to the trade unions, the largest among the mass organizations in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party directly leans on the trade unions in its work and through them rallies the working people round itself. Under the leadership of the Party the trade unions take an active part in the effort to further economic progress and improve the standard of living of the people, to raise labour productivity, promote socialist emulation, strengthen discipline in production, and improve the working conditions of their members, their everyday life and recreation. The 24th Congress of the CPSU emphasized that the trade uni-

ons are a vital element in the system of socialist democracy, in drawing the working people into the administration of state and social affairs. As the political organization of Soviet society develops the trade unions play an ever more important part in the system of socialist democracy.

From the very outset of its revolutionary activity the Communist Party paid great attention to organizing the trade union movement, to improving the structure of the trade unions, establishing correct relationships with the trade unions, and to rallying them to its side.

Under the guidance of the Communist Party the trade unions conducted important work in organizing the workers and raising their class consciousness. They took an active part in preparing and carrying out the socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917.

After the establishment of the power of workers and peasants the role of the trade unions further developed. New, more important and more complex tasks arose before them. The role of the trade unions in the socialist state was substantiated by Lenin. He pointed out, for instance, that socialism and communism could not be successfully built without such a foundation as the trade unions. "Within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat the trade unions stand, if I may say so, between the Party and the government," he noted. [1]

Prior to the October Revolution the trade unions' principal function was to head the economic struggle of the workers against the capitalists. After the revolution their main efforts were aimed at building a new life, free from exploitation. Since

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 32, p. 20.

then, the principal fields of their work have been organizational, economic and educational. The Soviet trade unions actively co-operate with the Government, for the socialist state expresses the vital interests of the working class and all working people, and the trade unions and the state have one common aim: the building of socialism and communism.

It should be noted that at the same time the trade unions continue to carry out their function of defence of the economic, cultural, social and other interests of its members in conditions of socialist construction. They fight cases of bureaucratic violations of labour legislation, disregard for the needs and infringement of the rights of working people on the part of some executives.

At all stages of socialist construction the Soviet trade unions have been active assistants of the Communist Party. They played a vast role in rehabilitating the national economy after the civil war and foreign intervention of 1918-1920, in the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, in accomplishing the cultural revolution. As was noted at the 15th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR, held in 1972, in the present conditions the importance of the trade unions further increases. They act everywhere as vehicles of the policy of the Party, as organizers and educators of the masses of working people.

The Soviet trade unions contribute actively in governing the state, in drafting national economic plans and budgets. They deal with matters of social security and keep an eye on the state of labour protection, safety engineering and on the observance of labour legislation. They have at their disposal more than 1,500 sanatoria, holiday homes,

boarding houses and polyclinics. They own 94,000 clubhouses, houses of culture, libraries and film projection units.

The rights of trade union organizations were considerably extended by the Statute on the Rights of Factory, Plant and Other Local Trade Union Committees adopted in 1971. The trade union committee of a Soviet enterprise or institution has the right to hear the manager's reports on the fulfilment of production plans, on the obligations assumed in the collective agreement, on the plans for improving the organization of labour, working conditions and daily amenities and cultural services for the workers, and so on. The trade unions have a say in the establishment of remuneration systems, in the fixing of scales of bonuses, in the distribution of the material stimulation funds, and in other matters. As a general rule, no employee can be dismissed without the consent of the trade union committee. Permanent production committees function under the trade union committee's guidance. Elected at workers' meetings from among the workers themselves, these committees discuss all the important questions that concern the given body of workers and adopt decisions on which the management relies for its activity. The permanent production committees, whose total membership exceeds 6 million, are important forms of participation of working people in management. The many years' experience of the work of the Soviet trade unions confirms that they are truly a school of administration, a school of management, a school of communism, as Lenin called them.

Trying to belittle the importance of the trade unions in the life of socialist society, bourgeois ideologists contend that the function of the Soviet

trade unions is supervision over the workers in the interests of the state. Assertions are made to the effect that the process of enhancing the role of the trade unions is nothing else but their turning into an appendage of the state, their governmentalization.

The absurdity of such allegations is self-evident. How can the trade unions be counterposed to the Soviet state, which embodies the power of workers and peasants, of the whole people? There is a fundamental difference between the position and role of the trade unions in the USSR and in the capitalist countries. In a capitalist state, the trade unions are organs of the struggle of the workers against the ruling class of exploiters. Therefore they stand in opposition to the state of the bourgeoisie. In the USSR, the trade unions are a mass organization of the working class, of the working people who have built socialism and are now building a communist society. The Soviet state pursues the same aim. For this reason there is no conflict of interest between the trade unions and Soviet power; they act in close unity. This fully accords with Lenin's thesis that "The trade unions must collaborate closely and constantly with the government, all the political and economic activities of which are guided by the class-conscious vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party." [1]

The Soviet trade unions have a total membership of about 100 million people, uniting practically the whole working class, all intellectuals and the large contingent of agricultural workers. Here are some figures to illustrate the growth of their

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 33, p. 190.

membership: in 1918 they had 2,638,000 members; in 1932, 16,500,000; in 1949, 28,500,000; in 1959, 52,780,000; in 1968, 86,130,000.

The trade unions in the USSR are organized as industrial unions on the basis of democratic centralism. All employees of one enterprise, organization or institution belong to one trade union. Every trade union unites the employees of one or several branches of the national economy. At present there are 26 industrial trade unions of workers in the iron and steel industry, railway transport, the state trade system and consumers' cooperatives, education, culture, and so on.

Each trade union has its own Rules. In addition there exist uniform Trade Union Rules which are binding on all trade union organizations and their members.

The basis of every trade union is the primary organizations formed at enterprises in industry, building, transport, communications, collective and state farms, institutions and organizations. In all, there are more than 646,000 primary trade union organizations in the USSR.

The highest body of the trade unions is the Congress, which elects the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), whose functions include the co-ordination of the activity of industrial unions and decisions on questions of all-union importance. In the regions, territories and republics the work of the unions is co-ordinated by TU councils. Industrial trade unions have central committees elected at their congresses. In turn, the central committees elect presidium for day-to-day guidance of the unions' work. There are regional, town and district trade union committees. Primary

trade union organizations are headed by corresponding committees. Workers make up about one-half of the membership of these committees.

KOMSOMOL

The mass organization of young people, the Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol), figures prominently in the political system of Soviet society. At present it unites more than 28 million young men and women—more than one-half of the youth of the country (in 1918 it had 22,000 members; in 1936, 3,980,000; in 1958, 18,092,000; in 1966, 23,050,000). The Komsomol is a non-Party organization, but it works under the guidance of the Communist Party and serves as its reserve. About one-half of the Communist Party membership are former Komsomol members. In the period between its 23rd and 24th congresses (1966-1971) the Party admitted into its ranks 1,350,000 YCLers.

The CPSU has always paid great attention to the revolutionary youth movement. It has been repeatedly stressed at Party congresses and in Party documents that the youth plays an important part in the revolutionary movement as a whole. The CPSU has always done what it could to help the Soviet young people in their efforts to organize, to set up organizationally independent unions ideologically guided by the Party, and see to it that from their very inception the youth organizations acquire a socialist character.

The question of the role of the youth assumed still greater importance after the triumph of the October Revolution. Lenin, in his time, noted that

a communist society could not be built without drawing the entire mass of young workers and peasants into political, economic and cultural construction, and that the conquests of the revolution would be consolidated by the education of the rising generations.

A single mass youth organization, the Russian Young Communist League (RYCL), was founded at the 1st All-Russia Congress of Working and Peasant Youth Leagues in 1918.

Addressing the 3rd Congress of the RYCL in 1920, Lenin formulated a programme for the activity of the Komsomol. The main task of the Party and of the Youth League, he pointed out, is to bring up young men and women in a communist spirit, closely to link the education and training of the youth with the struggle for communism, and to inculcate in youth a communist morality.

The Komsomol has always been a loyal assistant of the Communist Party in accomplishing the tasks of socialist and communist construction.

Together with the entire people Soviet youth and its vanguard, the Komsomol, are taking an active part in promoting the economic development of the country. More than half of all Komsomol members are working in industry, building, agriculture and other branches of the economy. The Komsomol has assumed patronage over many vital construction projects. Over the past few years, almost two million Komsomol members have volunteered to work at these projects. The Komsomol takes a direct part in deciding questions connected with the employment and living conditions of young people and their cultural services.

The Komsomol actively influences the work of the general educational and higher schools; it pro-

vides guidance to the children's Young Pioneer Organization.

The Komsomol has the right to initiate legislation. More than 500,000 young people are deputies to the Soviets. Young men and women make up nearly 20 per cent of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Soviets have standing committees for the affairs of the youth. The deputies from among the Komsomol members have ample opportunities for taking part in governing the state and carrying out tasks of communist construction.

Under the guidance of the Party the Komsomol conducts ideological and political education of the youth. About seven million Komsomol members are studying Marxist-Leninist theory in the system of Party and Komsomol political schools which comprise study circles, seminars, courses, etc.

Marxist-Leninist education of the youth is of immense importance in the present conditions of a sharp ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. The youth constitutes a special target for anti-communist propaganda, which employs a wide arsenal of theories and concepts supplied by bourgeois scientists and revisionists. Among the newest ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie are theories which present youth as a special class. The purpose of such theories is to cultivate in young people a sense of exclusiveness, a scornful attitude towards the working class, to draw them away from the revolutionary struggle, from the world communist and democratic movement and use them in undermining the foundations of socialist society. That is why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Young Communist League do not slacken but, on the contrary, intensify the ideological education of Soviet youth,

strengthening its conviction in the communist cause.

The Komsomol publishes more than 200 newspapers and magazines. It has publishing houses putting out 40 million copies of books annually. The radio and TV centres in the republics, territories and regions have special youth departments.

Physical culture and sport are an integral part of communist education, and the Komsomol popularizes them among the youth.

An active participant in the international communist and democratic movement, the Komsomol maintains wide contacts with youth organizations abroad. It educates the Soviet youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and friendship with the young people of all countries.

CO-OPERATIVES

Co-operatives constitute one of the elements of the political organization of socialist society.

Co-operative associations existed in Russia prior to the socialist revolution. Consumers' co-operatives were organized by workers to protect themselves against the arbitrary practices of the shopkeepers. Already then the Bolshevik Party regarded co-operatives as an important legal means of struggle against tsardom and the bourgeoisie and considered it necessary to work in them, although it was aware that the workers' co-operatives could not by themselves change the character of the economic system existing then.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution co-operatives became a means of securing the participation of working people in the building of soci-

alism and communism, of effecting a revolutionary transformation. On many occasions the Russian Communist Party stressed in its decisions that after the overthrow of the exploiting classes, co-operatives had become indispensable in building socialism.

Different types of co-operatives, such as consumers', sales-and-supply, production, producers' co-operatives and others functioned at different stages of development of Soviet society.

Some of them do not exist any more while others became an integral part of socialist society.

At present there exist the following types of co-operatives in the USSR: collective farms, consumers' co-operatives and housing co-operatives.

The collective farms were established in the course of the socialization of agriculture in keeping with Lenin's co-operative plan. Guiding itself by Lenin's instructions and taking into consideration the experience that had been gained in the field of peasants' co-operation in production, the Communist Party determined that the principal form of such co-operation should be the collective farm, based on the socialization of land tenure, draught animals, agricultural machines and implements, production premises and livestock. As distinct from its predecessors (joint soil cultivation associations, communes, etc.), the collective farm combined most harmoniously the individual interests of the peasants and the interests of society as a whole. The collectivization of agriculture in the USSR signified the going over of the peasantry to the socialist path of development, a highly important victory over the class enemy of the working people. At present the Soviet Union has almost 34,000 collective farms. Common ownership of the

instruments and means of production is the economic basis of the collective farms, which run their affairs independently, guided by state national economic plans. All vital questions of the life of collective farms are decided at general membership meetings. In 1969 the 3rd All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers adopted the new Model Rules of the Collective Farm and a decision on the establishment of elected collective farm councils in the districts, regions, republics and at the centre. The congress laid guidelines for further development of collective farm democracy.

The Soviet consumers' co-operatives unite 60 million shareholders, most of whom live in the countryside. Their tasks are to meet, through trade, the demand of the rural population for consumer goods, make purchases of agricultural products and raw materials, organize public catering, and so on. The consumers' co-operatives are the main trading organization in the countryside, accounting for 30 per cent of total retail trade turnover in the USSR. The system of consumers' co-operatives covers the entire country. The highest body of a consumers' co-operative is the general meeting, which elects the board for carrying out day-to-day management. Councils of consumers' co-operatives are elected in the regions, territories and republics. The consumers' co-operatives, which are closely linked with the socialist economy, contribute to extending the economic bonds between town and country, to strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The consumers' co-operatives in the USSR actively participate in the world co-operative movement.

Housing co-operatives build blocks of flats at the expense of their members, with loans on easy

terms from the state. They are organized at the executive committees of local Soviets.

Such are the principal mass public organizations in the USSR. Some other associations also play an important role in Soviet society.

Much is being done to assist in the communist education of the people by the unions of writers, composers, artists, journalists, cine-workers, architects as well as by theatrical societies.

Important work is conducted by the scientific and technical societies, cultural associations, organizations of rationalizers and inventors, societies of friends of the army, sports societies, etc. About 11 million people are members of scientific and technical societies and organizations of inventors and rationalizers.

A distinction should be drawn between the mass public organizations and the bodies that act independently on social questions—different commissions, committees, councils and so on. Here is an example. As noted above, the trade unions are a mass public organization of working people. The trade union organizations of industrial establishments often set up housing commissions which act on their own initiative and are called upon to assist the trade union organization. Clear-cut distinction between the functions of public organizations and organs that act independently on social questions rules out parallelism and makes for effective co-ordination of their actions.

It should be noted that in the course of socialist and communist construction in the USSR the role and importance of the mass organizations of working people steadily increase. This is due, first and foremost, to the growth of the scale and com-

plexity of the tasks of building socialism and communism. Hence the need for stepping up the activity and enhancing the responsibility of the mass organizations of working people in the system of political organization of socialist society.

The Communist Party as the Political Leader of the Mass Organizations of Working People

As we have seen above, the political system of socialist society in the USSR comprises government institutions and public organizations.

The ruling bourgeoisie in the capitalist states endeavours to impart a semblance of "independence" and "autonomy" to the institutions with the help of which it governs the country. In reality, all government, political and public institutions depend on the exploiting classes and serve their interests. Lenin had good reason to call the bourgeois state a caretaker for the capitalists.

As well as harping on the alleged independence and autonomy of organs and institutions of the bourgeois state, bourgeois propaganda slanders the CPSU, asserting that it monopolizes state administration, subordinates to itself the mass organizations and denies them a say in governing the state. These allegations are completely groundless.

In its activity the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the people are the decisive force in the historical process. Lenin stressed on many occasions that the Party could not build communism on its own. Therefore, far from debarring the mass organizations of working people from participation in implementing

tasks of state importance, the Party is doing everything to enhance their role and importance. It has been doing so throughout the period of existence of the Soviet state. Many relevant decisions have been adopted by it with respect to the Soviets, trade unions and Komsomol over the recent years.

The question arises: Why is it precisely the Communist Party that is the political leader of all the mass organizations of working people in the USSR? Why is it called upon to play the leading part in the political system of socialist society?

The position of the Communist Party as the political leader of all government institutions and public organizations is determined by the objective laws of social development, by the character of the struggle of the working class for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, for the building of socialism and communism.

Being as it is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat, the Communist Party is free of narrow departmentalism and professionalism. It acts as spokesman of the interests of socialist society as a whole, of all its strata.

As readers have seen, each mass organization of Soviet working people has definite, concrete functions and duties. As a rule, they express the interests of particular sections of the Soviet population and work within them.

Take, for instance, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. They unite the entire population of the Soviet Union. Hence, Soviet citizenship is the determinative characteristic of belonging to this mass organization of the Soviet people. The Soviets as organs of state power stand guard over the interests of all working people, of all Soviet ci-

tizens. They carry out tasks of building a new society, guiding themselves by Marxist-Leninist theory.

The trade unions unite working people on an industrial basis. The Komsomol unites young people. The co-operatives unite people as producers and consumers, and so on.

It is clear from this that leadership of all the public organizations of the Soviet people should be in the hands of a political organization which has earned this leadership through its aims and tasks, through the character of its formation and development. They have this organization in the Communist Party.

The CPSU emerged as the party of the working class, as its organized vanguard. At the present time, when the Soviet Union has undertaken communist construction as a practical task, the CPSU is the vanguard of the entire Soviet people, it expresses the interests of all strata of the people. This is the logical result of historical development.

In the period of struggle for the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Communist Party expressed and defended the interests of the working class and other sections of the working people.

In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the exploiting classes were abolished and great advances were made in socialist construction. The Party forged the socio-political unity of Soviet society.

Subsequently, with the final and complete victory of socialism in the USSR, the CPSU won over to its side the entire Soviet people, which unreservedly accepted its aims and ideology.

All this influenced the formation of the Party's

ranks. From the outset the Party had its social base, the basis for its growth and consolidation in the proletariat. The social base of the Party expanded in step with the numerical growth of the working class, the social changes within the peasantry and the emergence of the people's intelligentsia. Therefore the Party's 18th Congress, held in 1939, decided to establish uniform rules for admission into the Party, not connected with the applicants' social origin and status. The personal qualities of the finest members of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia became the decisive criterion.

At present the composition of the Party fully reflects the social structure of Soviet society.

As of January 1, 1973, the CPSU had 14,821,000 members. Industrial workers make up 40.7 per cent of its membership, peasants (collective farmers), 14.7 per cent, and office and professional workers, students and others, 44.6 per cent. Thus, 55.4 per cent, or more than half, of the Soviet Communists are workers and peasants. Of the Communists from among the office and professional workers, more than two-thirds are engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors and workers in science, literature and the arts.

The foes of the Soviet Union, of communism often counterpose the CPSU to the Soviet people, as an elite composed exclusively of Party functionaries and government officials. They prefer to overlook the data showing that more than 73 per cent of all Soviet Communists are engaged in branches of material production (industry, building, agriculture, transport, communications, trade, public catering) and about 27 per cent, in non-productive spheres, including 8.6 per cent in the apparatus of

state, economic, Party and public organizations. Here are some more figures. Of the Communists from among the office and professional workers, 8.7 per cent are managers of organizations, institutions, factories, construction projects, state farms and their subdivisions; 38.9 per cent are engineers, technicians and specialists in agriculture, and 24.1 per cent are scientists, teachers, doctors and workers in literature and the arts.

These figures show that among the members of the CPSU are representatives of all government and public organizations and that it embodies their unity in the struggle for communism.

The leading role of the CPSU with respect to all state and public organizations is explained also by the fact that it is guided in its activity by revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism enables the Party to see and put forward the aims to fight for, the prospects of the revolutionary activity of society as a whole, to find solutions to the problems posed by life and ensure the successful advance of the entire socialist society.

One more reason why the Communist Party plays the leading part in the political system of Soviet society is that it has mastered all forms of revolutionary struggle and possesses rich experience of political, organizational and ideological work. It has revolutionary traditions which no public organization has.

Equipped with the advanced, Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the Party not only sees the aims to be achieved by Soviet society but indicates ways of achieving them, using a wide variety of means, forms and methods of political and organizational work among the masses. Acting through the mass

organizations, the Communist Party can influence both the entire population of the country and its various strata. Through these organizations it secures the participation of the masses of working people in administering the state. Acting as the principal mobilizer in the system of state and public organizations, it makes its policy and decisions a guide to action for the people.

The Party constantly studies and generalizes the collective experience of the masses of working people. It grasps the essence of new phenomena in life, which enables it creatively to employ different forms and methods of work and find correct solutions to the most complex problems.

By the time the Soviets and trade union and youth organizations came into being in the USSR the Communist Party had accumulated considerable experience of political and organizational work and was thus able to prepare and hasten the creation of mass organizations, to help them gain strength and become important factors in the revolutionary struggle, in the socio-political life of the country.

Such are the main reasons why the Communist Party is the only political force which is entitled to give leadership to all mass organizations of working people, to unite and co-ordinate their efforts in building socialism and communism. The Party encourages the initiative of the mass organizations, bringing millions of people into active political life, involving them in the building of communism.

In examining this question, two following points must be considered.

In the course of socialist and communist construction the leading role of the Communist Party

tends to increase. This objective process is determined by a number of factors, such as the growing magnitude and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, the growth of the creative activity of the masses, the further development of socialist democracy, and the increasing importance of the theory of scientific communism. This process, in turn, demands of the Party greater attention to questions connected with strengthening and raising the effectiveness of the work of all mass organizations. What is involved above all is raising the level and improving the forms of Party guidance of their activity in all areas of social and political life of the country.

The more effective the work of the mass organizations, the higher the activity of all strata of working people and the more successfully the tasks of communist construction are accomplished. Furthermore, improvement of the work of mass organizations leads to a strengthening of the Party's links with the masses and hence to its greater influence on all aspects of development of socialist society.

It should be noted also that the strengthening of mass organizations and the heightening of their role in society does not lessen the need for direction of their work by the CPSU. At all stages of socialist and communist construction, in all periods of their development mass organizations of working people constantly require ideological guidance and correct political orientation, a concrete programme of action which takes into account the tasks and interests of the entire society, and helps to improve forms and methods of work.

Consequently, the growth of the leading role of the Communist Party, of its importance in the life

of socialist society is a natural process dictated by the objective requirements of socialist and communist construction, a process which gives the lie to the bourgeois ideologists' and revisionists' claim that there exists an irreconcilable contradiction between the concepts "growth of the leading role of the CPSU" and "growth of the importance of mass organizations".

A few words about the revisionist idea of "equal partnership" would not be out of place here. According to this, all organizations—the Party, the government bodies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and others—should exist independently of each other. In the revisionists' opinion, they should govern the country on a basis of mutually acceptable decisions and equal partnership.

Boiled down, the essence of this thesis is to undermine the vanguard role of the Communist Party in socialist society generally and in the Soviet Union in particular. This, in turn, is expected to lead to a weakening of the political system of socialism and foil the implementation of tasks of socialist and communist construction, which would delight the enemies of the working people.

The history of the CPSU has seen attempts to undermine its vanguard role from these positions. The opportunist, Menshevist, Trotskyist and other theories of "neutrality" of the trade unions are a case in point. These were exposed by Lenin as indicative of a striving to flush out the class essence of the trade unions and direct them along the reformist road, and therefore harmful to the political struggle of the working class.

Recognition of the Communist Party's leadership of all government and public organizations is one of the basic tenets of Marxism borne out by

the experience of the CPSU, the Communist parties of the socialist countries and the entire world communist movement.

The Communist Party expresses the vital interests of the masses of working people. Millions of people would never heed the advice of the Party if they did not become convinced, through their own experience, of the correctness of this advice. The Party is the only political force in socialist society which can fully and consistently take account of and bring together the interests and requirements of all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities.

The CPSU has always kept its leading positions in society and given proper guidance to state and public organizations. Under its leadership a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR and the construction of communism has been launched. The leading role of the Communist Party with regard to the mass organizations is set out in the Constitution of the USSR, which says that the CPSU is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to build a communist society and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both government and non-government. Thereby the Soviet people have expressed their confidence in the Party and given its vanguard position in society legal force.

Forms and Methods of Party Guidance of Mass Organizations

We have thus established why the Communist Party plays the leading role in the political system of socialist society, and why this role grows as

the process of building socialism and communism advances.

Let us now see by what methods and in what forms the Party and its organizations exercise guidance of the mass organizations of Soviet working people.

We mentioned the Communist Party's disagreement with the theories and views about the "neutrality" of the mass organizations as being fraught with the danger that these organizations will be estranged from the Party and fall under alien influence.

While insisting on the need for its leadership of public organizations, the Party does not equate itself with them. It holds that the functions of Party committees should not be confused with those of public organizations and state power. For instance, Lenin repeatedly warned against confusing the functions of Party and government bodies. Pointing, specifically, to the need for more precise delineation of these functions, he wrote that it was necessary "to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet government institutions, leaving to the Party the general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present, too frequent, irregular and often petty interference." [1]

The absence of such delineation would lead to a weakening of the role of the mass organizations in the political system of socialist society and of their sense of responsibility for their work. The ultimate result of this would be the severance of the Party's ties with the masses, their lower acti-

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[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 253.

vity in production and in public life, and hence damage to the cause of socialist and communist construction.

The CPSU has always guided itself by this injunction of Lenin, as is evidenced by decisions of Party congresses and conferences and resolutions of the Central Committee. For example, in its resolution "On Organizational Matters" the 8th Party Congress (1919) noted: "On no account should the functions of Party bodies be confused with those of state organs such as the Soviets... The Party should implement its decisions through Soviet organs, within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. The Party endeavours to guide the work of the Soviets but not to replace them."

Delineation of the functions of the Party and of the mass organizations of working people is a central question of scientific management of socialist society. Therefore, at the present stage of communist construction as well, the CPSU demands of its organizations unfailing observance of this principle.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU noted the important place occupied by the mass organizations in the socio-political life of the country, in the entire political organization of Soviet society. It pointed out that the Party's line was for the further enhancing the role of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the co-operatives and other mass organizations. It instructed the Party organizations to raise the level of guidance of the mass organizations, to eschew petty tutelage and unwarranted interference in their work.

As in all other spheres of activity of the Communist Party, the forms and methods of guidance

of the mass organizations are being constantly improved. The choice of particular forms and methods and the need constantly to modify and improve them are dictated by a number of factors such as changes in the situation and in the conditions of work, the tasks before the Party and its organizations at the given moment, the results of testing new forms in practice, the growth of the role of the Soviets, trade unions and Komsomol in socialist construction, etc. The Party holds that there are no forms and methods of work which are applicable in all periods of revolutionary activity. In other words, whenever the historical conditions change the Party changes the organizational forms of leadership in implementing its policy line. This proposition is borne out by the experience of the CPSU and the other Communist and Workers' parties.

During every period in history the CPSU has sought to use the most effective forms and methods of guidance of the mass organizations of working people. Prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the choice of forms and methods of the Party's work in the trade unions, youth organizations, etc., was limited, but even then it exerted a definite influence on their struggle against tsardom and conducted explanatory work among the masses to convince them of the correctness of its policy. After the revolution the situation changed, and the Party's possibilities in this field increased considerably. It began to influence effectively the qualitative composition of the leadership of the Soviets and the trade union, Komsomol and other organizations; enhance the role of the Communists working in mass organizations; determine the political line and exercise

control over the implementation of its directives by the mass organizations, etc. This enabled it to heighten the role of government and public organizations in Soviet society and raise their contribution to the building of socialism.

Raising the level of Party guidance of the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, co-operatives and other mass organizations remains a matter of concern for the CPSU in the present conditions of communist construction as well. This was pointed out at its 24th Congress. The need for continuing this work is explained by the following:

firstly, the complexity and importance of the tasks of communist construction and the growing contribution of public organizations toward their fulfilment;

secondly, the further development of the creative initiative of the masses, their greater activity, and the consequent need to consolidate the Party's links with them;

thirdly, the greater responsibility of every Party organization and every Communist for the activity of the mass organizations and for work in them.

How is Party guidance of the mass organizations of Soviet working people realized in practice? What are its forms and methods?

SHAPING THE POLITICAL LINE

The Communist Party guides the activities of the mass organizations first of all through determining the political line of these activities for a definite period in keeping with the programme of building socialism and communism. It gives them general directives in the fields of state, economic, social and cultural development.

Party guidance is political guidance. This means that, basing itself on Marxist-Leninist theory, relying on the experience of the masses and taking into account concrete conditions and tasks, the Communist Party determines the internal and foreign policy of the country.

As the leading force, the Party is responsible to the Soviet people for the solution of all problems and tasks of development of society. To solve them it secures the participation of the mass organizations. When shaping a general line of activity the Party normally takes into consideration the peculiarities of each organization, such as its place in the political system of society, its functions, the character and content of its work, the composition of its membership, and so on.

The political line of the Party is a guide to action for all government and public organizations. It goes without saying that the mass organizations are independent in deciding questions falling within their field of authority. But they decide them on the basis of and in keeping with the policy of the Communist Party. Lenin noted in this connection: "No important political or organizational question is decided by any state institution in our republic without the guidance of the Party's Central Committee." [1] This pattern of relationship between the Party and the mass organizations has not only been preserved to this day but has been further deepened and consolidated.

The political directives of the Communist Party for the mass organizations are laid down in the Programme of the Party, in the decisions of Party congresses and conferences, in the resolutions of

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[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 47-48.

plenary meetings and other decisions of the Central Committee, in the Party's addresses and letters to these organizations and to the people, etc.

At every historical stage the Party has worked out guidelines for the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, co-operatives and other mass organizations, taking into consideration the aims of development of society as a whole, the situation, previous experience, the potentialities of the masses and their interests.

In the present period of development of Soviet society the political line of the activity of the mass organizations has found an even clearer expression in the Programme of the CPSU, in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party. Thus, in relation to the Soviets, the trade unions and the Komsomol the 24th Congress had this to say in its resolution on the Central Committee's report:

"The Congress holds that the Soviets should carry forward their functions still more fully and exert an effective influence on the development of the economy and culture, on the improvement of the people's welfare, that they should deal more persistently with matters relating to social, community and other services and to the maintenance of law and order...

"The trade unions are called on to intensify the work of further promoting the country's economic development, still more actively draw the working people into the management of production and the administration of social affairs, improve the organization of the socialist emulation movement and inculcate a communist attitude to work. One of the basic tasks of the trade unions is to show concern for the legitimate interests of the workers and all other working people, for improv-

ing their working and everyday living conditions, for intensifying control over the observance of labour legislation and the rules and norms of labour protection and safety, and for achieving a better organization of cultured and healthy recreation of the working people...

"The Komsomol's central task is to educate young people in the spirit of communist ideology, Soviet patriotism, internationalism, efficient organization and high discipline... and to work towards making every young person an active builder of the new society. The Komsomol must make better use of the possibilities accorded to it for drawing young men and women to participate broadly in social life and in state, economic and cultural development."

In the past few years the CPSU Central Committee has adopted a number of decisions on the work of the Soviets, the Komsomol and other mass organizations, such as those "On Improving the Work of the Rural Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1967), "On Measures to Improve the Work of the District and Town Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (1971), "On the Work of the Local Soviets of the Poltava Region" (1965), "On the 50th Anniversary of the Komsomol and the Tasks of the Communist Education of the Youth"(1968), and other decisions.

Thus, the decision "On Measures to Improve the Work of the District and Town Soviets of Working People's Deputies" contains an extensive programme for the work of the Soviets in the present conditions. It is noted there that the district and town Soviets are called upon to decide on their territory all questions of local importance, co-ordinate and supervise, within the limits

of their jurisdiction, the work of all enterprises and organizations irrespective of their departmental subordination. They are to deal with questions of comprehensive development of the economy of their districts and towns. Their paramount task is to provide good conditions for the labour, everyday life and rest and recreation of Soviet people. The Central Committee demanded greater efforts to keep the general public informed about the work of the Soviets, etc.

Basing themselves on the Programme of the Party, the resolutions of its congresses and the Central Committee's decisions, the local Party organs adopt decisions determining the tasks of the mass organizations functioning in their respective republics, territories, regions, towns and districts. The resolution of a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine "On the Tasks of the Party Organizations of the Republic in Improving Guidance of the Trade Unions", adopted in 1969, can be mentioned as an example.

It should be noted that, if necessary, Party committees may adopt decisions on questions of economic and cultural development jointly with the leading bodies of mass organizations. For instance, in January 1973 the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee adopted a decision: "On Promoting the All-Union Socialist Emulation of Workers in Industry, Building and Transport for Pre-Schedule Fulfilment of the National Economic Plan for 1973".

With the directives and decisions of Party organs as the basis, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and other mass organizations work out their plans

of work and concrete measures, determining in them the ways and forms of participation of their members in carrying out the Party's instructions and the plans of economic, social and cultural development.

To be sure, no mass organization stays idle waiting for the appropriate Party organ to take a decision on the matter at hand. It decides such questions, within its terms of reference, from positions of principle which have been determined in the documents of higher Party organs.

Party directives and decisions have a great authority for the mass organizations. But the Party cannot limit itself to elaborating the political line for their activity. It must bring this home to the masses, to explain to them the essence and aims of its policy and convince them of the need to follow this political line.

Having determined the tasks of the mass organizations, Party organs, primary Party organizations, as a rule, conduct many-sided ideological, explanatory and organizational work among the masses with the aim of ensuring the implementation of the tasks.

Proceeding from the fact that all mass organizations are public, voluntary, autonomous organizations functioning on democratic principles, the CPSU bases its guidance of their work on persuasion, ruling out administrative methods.

CADRE POLICY

Not limiting itself to shaping the political line of the work of the mass organizations, the Communist Party takes measures to ensure the line is translated into life, and finds expression in practical deeds.

A great role in implementing the policy of the Party, in carrying out the formidable tasks of remaking society along revolutionary lines and building socialism and communism is played by the leading functionaries of mass organizations. It is through people that the policy of the Party is carried into reality, and therefore its influence on the selection, placing and training of leading cadres of the mass organizations constitutes an important means of their guidance by the Party. The CPSU works on the principle that the most important, key posts in the mass organizations must be filled by people capable of translating Party directives and decisions into life. In their political and moral qualities and competence such people have to measure up to the requirements of the Party, to the present conditions and tasks. As the CPSU's experience shows, only ideologically steeled, politically mature and professionally competent functionaries who can organize and give leadership to the masses and who devote all their energies to the cause of socialist and communist construction are capable of ensuring the implementation of the policy the Party sets before the mass organizations of working people.

The importance of functionaries in positions of responsibility in mass organizations grew particularly in the period after the Socialist Revolution of 1917. In that period the cadre question went far beyond the bounds of interests of mass organizations, becoming a vital problem of Party and state development. This was explained by a fundamental change in the position and tasks of the mass organizations in society.

After the October Revolution the Communist Party took upon itself the difficult job of selecting

and promoting functionaries for the state apparatus, to the trade union, youth, co-operative and other mass organizations. Acting in keeping with Lenin's instructions and the decisions of its congresses and conferences, it organized this work on a large scale, imparting a systematic and public character to it.

Immediately after the revolution the Party itself became the principal source of functionaries to be promoted to leading posts in the mass organizations. It sent its best workers to these organizations. Guided by Lenin's counsel that many gifted leaders were to be found among the mass of the people, the Party persistently sought out capable workers, good organizers devoted to the socialist cause from among non-Party workers, peasants and other strata of working people and promoted them to leading posts in the Soviets, youth organizations, co-operatives, etc.

The Party's work in selecting and promoting leading personnel of mass organizations has its specific features.

In the USSR the leading functionaries of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the co-operatives and other public organizations are elected by the members of these organizations themselves. Voting at elections, open or secret, is conducted after the candidature has been discussed. The Party sees to it that the established methods of selecting the leading elected personnel of these organizations is strictly observed. It never appoints leaders of mass organizations, and strives to prevent infringements of the right of their members to elect such functionaries at their own discretion.

This is not to say, of course, that the Party and its local bodies adopt a passive attitude towards

this matter. One of the ways in which the Party influences the selection and appointment of top functionaries of mass organizations is the submission by Party committees of their proposals to the appropriate organs of mass organizations which are competent to decide the question of appointment of leading officials. These proposals have the character of recommendations, with every candidature being properly substantiated. Before submitting a proposal concerning a particular worker the Party committee ascertains his or her public standing, thus avoiding mistakes in its recommendations and advice.

Since the Party enjoys authority among the mass organizations and has their respect the latter have trust in the recommendations of its organs. It stands to reason that Party organizations send the worthiest persons to work in mass organizations.

It should be noted that it has never been the Party's aim to fill all leading posts in the mass organizations with Communists. Alongside Communists, non-Party people from among the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals who have a sound general political grounding, perform executive functions successfully, and are capable organizers, etc. The CPSU also takes into account the tremendous political significance of manning the cadre force with both Communists and non-Party people, which is one of the ways of strengthening the Party's links with the masses of working people, cementing the cohesion of Soviet society.

The Communist Party pays due attention to the training and advanced training of leading functionaries of mass organizations, to their systematic ideological and political education. Many of them

are given training in the higher Party and Soviet-Party schools. Trade union functionaries attend the Central Courses run by the AUCCTU and the higher schools of the trade union movement, and Komsomol workers, the Higher Komsomol School, etc. Permanent refresher courses for leading functionaries are run at the centre and in the localities. For instance, in 1971 the advanced training courses for trade union functionaries alone were attended by more than 20,000 people. The system of political education run by the CPSU also serves as an important means of training Soviet, trade union and other cadres.

CHECK-UP ON FULFILMENT

The shaping of policy, the determination of the tasks of the mass organizations is only part of guidance of their work, indeed, only the beginning of the work to further envigorate the activity of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, etc., in accomplishing their tasks, to enhance their role in socialist society.

An important element of the Party's guidance of the mass organizations is checking on the fulfilment of Party directives and decisions by them. Check-up on fulfilment is essential for ensuring the implementation of the Party's political line by the mass organizations. Only such checks, correctly organized, make it possible to see how the political line of the Party is being carried into practice, whether the mass organizations and their leading bodies act correctly and efficiently, and what role they play in the life of Soviet society. This checking enables Party committees to give timely help

to mass organizations and remove the shortcomings that have been revealed.

Well-organized check on decisions ensures, in the final count, strict and unfailing fulfilment by the mass organizations of the directives of the Communist Party and, consequently, their active participation in socialist and communist construction.

Regarding this as being of paramount importance, Lenin stressed repeatedly that the verification of what had actually been done was to be part and parcel of all the Party's activities, of its whole policy. [1]

In the long years of its work the Party has elaborated definite principles of organizing checks on the work of the mass organizations.

To begin with, it should be borne in mind that the work of Party committees in controlling and organizing the work of the mass organizations, in carrying out the decisions of the Party constitutes a single process. Unless this is so, such checks cannot be correct and effective. Experience shows that when the Party committee of a district, town, region, etc., follows up its decisions with organizational measures and assists the leading bodies of the mass organizations in fulfilling them things go much more smoothly, the tasks set before these organizations are accomplished more quickly, and the Party's political line is implemented correctly and in good time.

Checks are exercised by the Party organs on the spot, i.e., directly where the mass organizations operate. It has been proved in practice that the on-the-spot check-up is a potent means of combatting

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[1] See, for instance, V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 226.

a formal attitude towards the realization of Party decisions. It makes it possible to assess correctly the capabilities of the heads of mass organizations, to obtain the most objective data about progress in the realization of Party decisions, and to study and popularize the positive experience of mass organizations.

Check on decisions must be systematic, i.e., it begins immediately after the political line has been determined and the Party directive adopted, and ends after the decision of the Party has been carried out. Systematic check-ups are essential for success.

To make this supervision maximally effective, it must be headed by the leaders of Party organizations themselves. The need for this is dictated both by the aims and tasks of Party guidance, and by the role the mass organizations play in socialist society. The personal participation of Party leaders in verifying the realization of the Party's policy by the Soviets, the trade unions and other mass organizations contributes appreciably to raising the overall level of efficiency of Party guidance.

In checking up on the fulfilment of directives of the CPSU by the mass organizations the Party organs rely on both Communists and non-Party people. Indeed, no efficient guidance can be given to the mass organizations unless the masses themselves take part in the work of checking-up. The experience of the masses must be taken into account in finding correct solutions to concrete problems. In order to secure active assistance on the part of Communists and non-Party people in organizing the realization of Party decisions every encouragement is given to criticism and self-criticism in the mass organizations.

Supervision of the activities of the mass organizations must have a public character, with the Party committees bringing to the knowledge of the general public, orally or in the press, the results revealed by check-ups of the work of mass organizations in implementing the Party's policy.

Such are the main demands made of Party control in respect to the mass organizations. The forms and methods of such control also play an important part. The CPSU has rich experience in this field.

One of the forms of control is well-organized information and accounting. By a specified date, or on their own initiative Party committees inform the higher Party bodies about the fulfilment of the Party directives pertaining to guidance of mass organizations, enhancement of their role in communist construction, improvement of the forms and efficiency of the work of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, etc., among the masses. Likewise, the leading organs of mass organizations periodically inform the Party committees about the work done, about the implementation of particular tasks. Properly organized information enables Party bodies to always know how the mass organizations work, how they organize and mobilize the working people in realizing the tasks of communist construction.

Another active form of control is periodic discussions of questions of the work of government and public organizations at sittings of Party bureaux and plenary sessions of Party committees. Such discussions may concern the work of all mass organizations or one of them, or of the mass organization of one specific enterprise or institution. For instance, in the past two years the Moscow and Le-

ningrad city committees of the CPSU have discussed, within the framework of ensuring realization of the decisions of the 24th Congress, questions connected with the work of almost all mass organizations coming within their jurisdiction.

Not infrequently higher Party committees hear reports by lower Party bodies on their work in guiding mass organizations. A case in point is the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Work of the Party Organizations of the Perm Region in Guiding the Trade Unions" (1967). After noting the positive aspects of this work, the Central Committee stressed that it did not yet fully meet the demands of the Party. It indicated the main lines of the work of the trade unions of the Perm Region and ways of improving Party guidance of them.

ENHANCING THE COMMUNISTS' ROLE

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union exercises guidance of the mass organizations and has its directives carried out through the Communists working in these organizations. It directs their efforts to ensuring implementation of its policy by all mass associations of working people.

In keeping with the CPSU Rules, Party groups are formed at the congresses and conferences convened by the Soviets, and trade union, co-operative and other mass organizations as well as in the elected bodies of these organizations, where there are not less than three members of the Party. These groups are called upon to increase the influence of the Party, carry through its policy among the non-Party people, strengthen Party and state discipline,

combat red-tape, and verify the fulfilment of Party and Soviet directives.

The Party groups are subordinate to the corresponding Party bodies; those in all-Union organizations to the CPSU Central Committee, those in republican and regional organizations, to the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the republics and the Party regional committees, those in town and district organizations to the town and district committees of the CPSU. In all their work they are strictly guided by the decisions of the leading Party bodies.

The Party groups in non-Party organizations unite all Party members elected to the leading bodies, no matter in what primary organizations they may be registered. For instance, there are 20 Communists among the 50 people who have been elected to the Central Committee of the Communication Workers' Union. They make up the Party group of this committee. Or, let us say, five out of the eleven members of the executive committee of a district Soviet are members of the CPSU. They too form a Party group.

Party groups function throughout the term of office of the given elected body of the mass organization. The methods of their work are the same as those of all Party organizations: persuasion, everyday organizational and educational work. A Party group may adopt decisions which are binding for all its members.

The Party exercises guidance of the mass organizations not only through Party groups but also through the primary Party organizations which are set up and work in the leading organs of mass organizations. United in these Party organizations are all Communists employed in the administra-

tive apparatus—in its various departments, divisions, sectors, etc. The task of the members of these primary Party organizations is to help the Party organs carry out the directives of the Party, to improve the functioning of the apparatus and of all its workers, to see to it that laws are observed, to strengthen discipline.

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Guidance of the mass organizations of working people is an essential component of the political and organizational activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Correct and effective influence of the Party and of all its lower bodies on the work of the government and public organizations is a guarantee of the high activity of such organizations, a sure way of strengthening the Party's links with the people to implement successfully the tasks of communist construction.

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